



CI 100-14158

2 - Louisville (Info) (RM)  
1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)  
1 - New York (Info) (RM)  
3 - Cincinnati  
(2 - 100-14158)  
(1 - 157-1682)

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.



For Bureau information, on 1/24/69, [REDACTED] advised he was in the process of obtaining names, from a source he would not disclose, relative to SNCC applications at either Central State or

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Wilberforce University. Several names, without additional identifying data or location, were furnished by [REDACTED] and despite the paucity of information, appropriate cases were opened in anticipation of probable receipt of further more specific data to be thereafter set forth in a subsequent SNCC organization report.

Data re individuals referred to in the details, who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For additional reasons of brevity and to eliminate repetitive reporting, the essential data of Cincinnati LHM, 3/7/69, concerning the East St. Louis conference of 3/1, 2/69, was set forth in enclosed report, but the printed program and related data was excluded since same was more pertinent to respective Divisions rather than the overall organization.

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity of source</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Springfield, Chicago, Louisville, Mobile, and New York for possible future investigative use.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

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CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

**Copy to:**      1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)  
                   1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)  
                   1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)  
                   1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

**Report of:**      SA [REDACTED]      **Office:**      Cincinnati  
**Date:**      4/8/69

**Field Office File #:**      CI 100-14158      **Bureau File #:**      100-439190

**Title:**      STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

**Character:**      RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

**Synopsis:**      Current leaders and members of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as supplied by [REDACTED] furnished data re headquarters, funds, attendance at conferences in Springfield and East St. Louis, Illinois, and efforts re establishment of Black Panther Party. [REDACTED] contacts with out-of-state Black Nationalist leaders, local SNCC membership, travel, and meetings data.

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**DETAILS:**

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

**GROUP I  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION**

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

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CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] furnished the current leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC. The source stated the membership list was effective as of February 2, 1969, reconfirmed as still correct February 20, 1969, and those names which appeared on previous lists, but do not appear on the present list, were removed from SNCC membership by reason of inactivity and/or non-participation in the activities.

LEADERS - (RESIDENCE CINCINNATI UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE)

Educational Adviser	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer	MC KINLEY PACE 2348 Highland Avenue (No telephone)
Secretary	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124
Treasurer & Fund Raising	Vacant
Field Representative	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE (Whereabouts unknown)

NON-LEADERSHIP MEMBERS

NOAH CAVE  
1026 Burton Avenue,  
No. 791-3799

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GEORGE EDISON  
3030 Gilbert Avenue  
No. 221-7560

TAYLOR HUGHES  
3458 E. Millvale Circle  
No. 681-3306

JOHN DACE  
3593 Roll Street,  
No. 542-2873

WILBUR CAVE  
1026 Burton Avenue,  
No. 791-3799

GARRELL WINSTEAD  
1482 Dudley Walk  
No. 421-6075

MEETINGS - HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On February 20, 1969, [redacted] advised the regular meetings of Cincinnati SNCC were changed from the 22nd of each month to weekly Sunday meetings, unless cancelled or rescheduled, to commence at 2:00 PM at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

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Further information concerning the NOI is located in the appendix attached hereto.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

On March 14, 1969, [redacted] advised he had learned that two Negro males, names and organization affiliation unknown, but from California, had arrived in Cincinnati, Ohio, within the previous two or three days, and were temporarily residing with the Cincinnati Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Secretary, SANDRA CARR, at 2225 Highland Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[Redacted block of text]

On March 15, 1969, this source stated he had learned that the two Negroes, names unknown, had been arrested in Columbus, Ohio, about March 4 - 5, 1969, for carrying a concealed weapon, and were members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California, but the circumstances of the arrest are unknown.

The source also stated he learned that bond money for the above two, \$300 each for a total of \$600 was paid, and that both returned immediately to Oakland, California.

[Redacted block of text]

[Redacted block of text]

further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix attached hereto.

PARTICIPATION IN OUT OF STATE CONFERENCES

[REDACTED] advised he had learned [REDACTED] that CHARLES KOEN, SNCC Midwest Director and [REDACTED] leader of a group called the National Black Liberators, in St. Louis, Missouri, had contacted Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser LEROY COSTON, January 25, 1969, and requested no more than two leadership representatives of Cincinnati SNCC to attend a highly confidential meeting in Springfield, Illinois, at twelve noon, January 28, 1969. Purpose of meeting and identity of other invitees unknown.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On January 30, 1969, [REDACTED] stated he had learned that Leroy Coston, above, and Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, George Hughes, were the two representatives who attended the above meeting in Springfield, Illinois.

[redacted] stated the meeting took place in the living room of the home of Larry Isaac, Prime Minister of the "Black Egyptians", 1201 South 15th Street, Springfield, Illinois, who within the past two months had moved to Springfield from East St. Louis, Illinois, and resides at the above address with his wife and two small children.

The source stated the meeting started at about three p.m., concluded about 6:45 p.m., was attended by about twenty eight persons, all Negroes, including several females, and the entire meeting was conducted by Charles Koen, leader of the "National Black Liberators", St. Louis, Missouri, with the exception of a short period of time when the speaking was done by Koen's assistant, also a "Liberator", name unknown, but described as about 28, 6'2", 225 pounds, medium Afro haircut, clean shaven, neat, with a 3" circular scar on his right cheek.

The source stated some of the invitees were late in appearing, some departed before the conclusion of the meeting, and some did not appear at all, according to Koen, such as Dan Aldridge from Detroit, Michigan, two persons from Atlanta, Georgia, one from Memphis, Tennessee, and one from Mississippi. As a result of this the total of twenty eight in attendance is approximate.

Koen also stated he had received a telephone call from Edward Crawford, above, who told Koen that because of inclement weather the planes were grounded, and it would be impossible for Crawford to attend the meeting.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The source stated that at the inception of the meeting Koen stated that for obvious reasons there would be absolutely no note taking, and unless some of the attendees were already known to each other, no one would be introduced to anyone else beyond a first name basis.

The source stated he recalled that as far as attendance by groups or organizations the meeting was attended as follows:

- (5) "National Black Liberators" from St. Louis, Missouri, including Koen, composed of three men and two women, who were among the last to arrive at the meeting.
- (10) "Black Egyptians" from East St. Louis, Illinois.
- (3) "Black Egyptians" from Springfield, Illinois.
- (8) "War Lords" from East St. Louis, Illinois.

(4) "Vice Lords" from Peoria, Illinois

The source additionally stated there were three persons, including one woman, who were identified only as students from a college near Springfield, Illinois, with a name the source stated sounded like "Cardon" or "Cordon".

The source stated that five of the "Black Egyptians", and four or five of the "War Lords", both from East St. Louis, Illinois, departed from the meeting about one hour before the conclusion.

With regard to the meeting proper the source stated Koen set forth the following general purposes and, thereafter, returned to expand on several of the points:

1. To get acquainted with our fellow revolutionaries in different, yet immediately adjacent, territories or areas.
2. Although from different areas, to recognize that it is a common system and a common enemy everywhere.
3. Discuss the divide and conquer policy of the system.
4. Discuss plans to move against the enemy.
5. Discuss bond and court expenses.
6. Roles of the groups and communications.
7. Discuss national meetings of the groups from all areas.
8. Discuss establishment of a central office for their (Midwest) area.

Koen stated one of the main elements of a "revolution" is for the revolutionary to keep his "mouth shut", and each of the attendees had been invited because he is a revolutionary.

In expanding upon the subjects Koen stated that the enemy had recently subjected their groups to extreme harassment and injustice.

Koen stated very recently the offices of the "National Black Liberators" in St. Louis had been raided by police, without cause, on two or three occasions; the doors of the offices of the "Black Egyptians" in East St. Louis had been kicked down by the police; a primarily women's school in East St. Louis had been raided by police who found only two guns and a knife after a thorough search; but most significant was because of the mass shooting which had occurred the previous week in East St. Louis which resulted in the deaths of four Negroes and the injuring of two others who were presently on the critical list.

Koen did not restate the details of the above incident except to the extent it involved six magazine salesmen, two of whom Koen stated were legitimate, and the other four were undercover police officers.

Koen stated that as a result of the above, one "Swede" Jeffreys, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, was unjustly arrested and charged with four counts of murder.

Koen stated Jeffreys was arrested on the basis of an identification by one of the men who had been shot and died, but identified Jeffreys while under the influence of narcotics before death.

Koen stated that the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, led by one "Pops", in attendance at the meeting, and described as about 40-45 years of age, was planning to follow one of two courses of action:

1. To go with a group directly to the jail where Jeffreys is located and kill everyone necessary to free Jeffreys.

2. To commence a planned, but random killing of the enemy one at a time in retaliation.

Koen stated he, Koen, believed careful planning should be done; that the possible loss of several might not be worth more than the rescue of only one, but whatever course of action they, the "War Lords", decided to follow, they had the complete support and encouragement of Koen.

Koen stated that Edward Crawford, above, who was to have attended the meeting, was to have rendered assistance or advice to the "War Lords" in the course of action they decided to follow.

Koen stated the number one weapon of their groups is explosives, and that guns are secondary for use as a last resort.

Koen stated all the groups in East St. Louis have good contacts for explosives in that area, have some available or access to it at the present time, and additionally have a "Black Egyptian" available, who is a former serviceman and a demolition expert, not further identified except located in East St. Louis.

Koen thereafter discussed the establishment of a Central Office for the Midwest area, and stated that although Chicago is also being considered, Springfield is presently the first choice despite the fact there are more transportation problems involved in travel to and from that city.

Koen stated it is tentatively planned that a Midwest Conference of all groups will be held February 8, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois, meeting site not designated, but one of the purposes will be to name or select a Midwest Council of representatives from the various groups.

Koen thereafter discussed generalities and stated he had just returned, no specifics disclosed, from a visit and conference in New York City, New York, with H. Rap Brown, former National SNCC Chairman, and had also just completed a trip to California relative to the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Koen stated that he thereafter contacted National SNCC leader Philip Hutchings telephonically relative to his California travel and was advised by Hutchings that he, Koen, had violated SNCC policy in meeting with the BPP.

Koen stated that partly, as a result of the above, he was leaving within a few days to attend a conference in Connecticut, and would thereafter return to New York City for further conferences, at the conclusion of which he believed he would return to California and attempt to resolve the differences within the BPP.

Koen thereafter indicated another meeting was to be held at the same address in Springfield in the immediate future with some of the representatives of the various newspapers and publications of the various groups with whom they are associated, and the entire meeting was thereafter concluded.

[REDACTED]

Concerning the conference in general, [REDACTED] stated the conference as a whole was conducted by CHARLES KOEN; that approximately 75 persons were present on Saturday, March 1, 1969, from a late inception at about 2:00 PM, until 11:00 PM, and on Sunday, March 2, 1969, there were approximately 50 persons in attendance from noon until the conference terminated at about 8:00 PM.

The source stated most of the attendees were unknown, and the majority were from the Midwest area, Springfield, East St. Louis, Peoria, and five students from Carbondale, Illinois. with the exception of the following, insofar as known or learned by this source:

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA - 5

Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK,  
SNCC West Deputy Chairman.

Brother (First Name Unknown) CHOICE.

TONY ORANGE

SANDRA SCOTT

One unknown male

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, AREA - 5

All unknown males, did not identify themselves, and attended the conference on March 1, 1969, only.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 6

This male group was led by EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association (appears in program), and the group referred to themselves as "Mau Maus," indicated they were karate experts, and carried brown, twelve inch long wood clubs in their back pockets.

WASHINGTON, D.C. - 2

One male and one female, both unknown.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - 1

One male from Atlanta, Georgia, unknown, engaged in organizing work in Tennessee and Kentucky.

The source stated that the conference did not start until about 2:00 PM on March 1, 1969, and generally followed the printed program but in essence, from 2:00 PM to 3:30 PM, was devoted to a general session; thereafter, was devoted to workshops from 3:30 PM to 5:00 PM, and thereafter moved to the office of KATHERINE DUNHAM, 530 Tenth Street, who source stated was Director of Performing Arts Training Center at 530 Tenth Street, East St. Louis, Illinois, where a discussion of "black culture" was conducted until about 7:00 PM, at which time the conference returned to the workshops until 11:00 PM when the day was concluded.

The source stated the Sunday, March 2, 1969, program was adhered to, including the presentation of a cantata by the organization of KATHERINE DUNHAM, described in the program.

Concerning the conference, the source stated that KOEN never fully clarified to the group why KOEN had referred to the conference as the First National Political Conference, and made no comment concerning any future national conferences, dates or locations.

The source stated the SNCC West Deputy Chairman, Brother (First Name Unknown) CROOK, and his group from Los Angeles, California, directed some questions to KOEN concerning the purpose of the conference, but received no explanation from KOEN, and indicated they were angry at being misled by KOEN.

KOEN stated each of the groups represented should unite for the common purpose of forming a national liberation group in furtherance of the four year plan previously proposed by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and that each of the groups should return to their respective states and attempt unification with all other local organizations in their areas.

KOEN stated the attempts at unification presently in effect were all part of an original plan devised by the slain Negro leader, MALCOLM X LITTLE of Muslim Mosque, and that in the next few weeks a conference and meeting was to be arranged with the widow of MALCOLM X, BETTY SHABAZZ, now a leader of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), to secure her endorsement for the unification.

Further information concerning Muslim Mosque and the RNA is attached hereto.



KOEN stated, however, that the SNCC national leaders still desired no actual present working relations or involvement with the BPP due to the extensive inner conflicts and dissension of that organization. KOEN stated national SNCC is waiting for the BPP to eliminate its own organizational problems, and presently feel the BPP may destroy itself unless changes are made within, and with BPP relations with other groups against whom they are engaged in actual warfare.

KOEN further stated that several national SNCC leaders, including PHIL HULLINGS, were to have also attended the conference, but KOEN gave no explanation for their absence.

On March 26, 1969, [REDACTED] supplied additional data in elaboration of the information previously furnished March 4, 1969, concerning the conference called by the SNCC Midwest Director, CHARLES KOEN, on March 1-2, 1969, in East St. Louis, Illinois.

The source stated that although it was feasible and possible that other similar type meetings might have taken place on February 28, 1969, or March 1-2, 1969, at other locations, he had obtained no information to that effect. The source stated that except for temporary lodgings of the attendees, the conference took place at the Summer College of Commerce, 9th and Ohio Streets, East St. Louis, Illinois, with a "black culture" discussion on March 1, 1969, and a music program on March 2, 1969, presented by KATHERINE DUNHAM at 530 10th Street, also East St. Louis, Illinois.

The source stated that excluding the above segments of KATHERINE DUNHAM, the conference was composed of several periods of general sessions, and several workshops, with significant data supposedly covered in the workshops repeated in the general sessions periods for the benefit of all, with some discussions or questions permitted, and immediately preceding the conclusion of the conference on March 2, 1969, there was a period of approximately thirty minutes from 7:30 to 8:00 PM, which was attended by only twelve to fifteen persons, including CHARLES KOEN, above.

The source stated included in the closed group were several Negroes who referred to themselves as "Mau Mau's", one of whom suggested it should be made clear to others that if one man commits some foolish illegal act on his own initiative, he should not expect others to come to his aid and support with either money or their weapons, but if the act itself is in furtherance of militant activities, then it should be understood that every man and organization should respond to help in whatever manner possible.

The source stated that EDWARD "FAIS" CRAWFORD, President of the National Negro Rifle Association, from Chicago, Illinois, during this period stated that branches of the above association should be started in every city, and that either he, CRAWFORD, or one of his organizers, would travel wherever necessary to establish such a group.

The source stated it was also at this time that CHARLES KOEN discussed the plan to unite all Black Nationalist organizations, and that recently two members of the Black Panther Party, names not disclosed, had been appointed to the SNCC Central Committee, although SNCC itself desired no present close working relationship with the BPP due to the considerable conflicts within that group.

The source stated he was aware of no discussions that took place, concerning plans relative to selling "protection" to businesses, to hijack trucks, to commit robberies or muggings, to steal payroll checks, or to steal cars from rental agencies.

The source stated the first speaker at the first general session was CHARLES KOEN who generally discussed revolutionary economics and the necessity for all groups to become acquainted, to open the doors of communication, and to work together for the common purpose.

KOEN was followed by DWIGHT SMITH of "Black Culture, Inc." of East St. Louis, Illinois, who spent considerable time discussing activities in that area, concluding the recent arrest of one CHARLES JEFFERIES in connection with the shooting deaths of four Negroes; how the local police had been harassing the local organizations, and that, at least to the present, nothing had been done by the local organizations in retaliation or opposition.

EDWARD "TAIS" CRAWFORD thereafter spoke for about four minutes, but stopped abruptly when he indicated he saw someone operating a tape recorder, and stated he, CRAWFORD, simply did not trust everyone attending the conference.

The source stated in Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Educational Adviser LEROY LOSTON, thereafter spoke for about five minutes and stated that attempts were being made in Cincinnati, Ohio, to unify and work with all the groups; that one man alone, as an independent, was ineffectual, but the community understands, appreciates, and will support a group they feel is working in their behalf.

The source stated the next general session was March 1, 1969, about nine to ten PM, and was less orderly. The exact speakers were not recalled, but the only references to specific criminal activity was believed made by CHARLES KOEN, who attempted a comparison between capitalism and revolutionary economics.

KOEN stated that if a bank is robbed, and the money is spent to buy an Eldorado Cadillac, that is capitalism, because the system is being supported. If the money is used to purchase weapons, or to buy food for hungry Negro children, that is revolutionary economics.

The source additionally stated he recalled no speeches or discussions by CHARLES KOEN or anyone else concerning the planned hijacking of planes to Cuba, specific travel to Cuba, or negotiations with Cuba for compensation for planes hijacked by "brothers".

The source additionally stated the SNCC organization does own or have available films including, "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger", and "The Battle of Algiers", and additionally he recently learned that National SNCC leader, GWEN PATTON, was in a hospital, believed in Washington, D.C., and for a broken leg, but he could furnish no data regarding her recent visitors.

The source also stated that CHARLES KOEN indicated the conference was originally to have included March 3, 1969, and the meeting was held in East St. Louis, Illinois, to call additional attention by newspaper to a pending court appearance of KOEN and National SNCC leader, PHILIP HUTCHINGS, with regard to their arrest about six months previous at a rally in the East St. Louis area, details unknown.

The source also stated that at a general session on March 2, 1969, about 6:30 to 7:30 PM, one "POPS" JONES, about 40-45 years of age, a leader of the "War Lords" of East St. Louis, Illinois, spoke for about fifteen minutes in a incohesive manner, which stressed violence and action, but appeared only to make JONES look foolish, create amusement, and cause inattention.

The source indicated JONES made several statements, unrecalled specifically, but to the effect that if one of the organizations intended to conduct a meeting, "Spotters" should be sent out in the neighborhood, and if police are observed, the group should immediately go out into the streets, and kill the police that were observed.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On January 16, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that Cincinnati SNCC had been unable to ascertain the present whereabouts of WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative, through TED BARRIS, Military Adviser, who was acquainted with PAYNE's relatives in Covington, Kentucky.

A P P E N D I X

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STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

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MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 5  
NATION OF ISLAM  
CINCINNATI, OHIO

On May 9, 1968, a source advised that Mohammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Nation of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 5, Muhammad's Temple No. 5, Mohammad's Temple No. 5, Muhammad's Mosque No. 5, was founded by Asbury X Williams (deceased) during 1946 and continues to follow the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, is an affiliate of the national organization, Nation of Islam, under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, and adheres to the beliefs and policies of the national organization.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3119 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, (MMI)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

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APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna)

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts

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for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be \$10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax levied on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MULTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.

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A P P E N D I X

1

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC., (OAAU)

On June 23, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Cincinnati, Ohio  
April 8, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character

RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference

Report of SA [redacted]  
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 6/27/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/28/69 - 6/23/69
TITLE OF CASE  STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BUREAU jmh
		CHARACTER OF CASE  RM - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 4/8/69, at Cincinnati.

- P -

1613

ARMED FORCES	ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					ACQUIT TALS
	AUTO.	PUB.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case has been: Pending over one year  Yes  No; Pending prosecution over six months  Yes  No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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  - 1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
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  - 2 - Louisville (Info.) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
- (cont'd Cover Page)

100-439190-10-74

REC-3

(RM) 10 JUN 2 1969

B)

Notations

RECD 6/27/69

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	ISD	PL	PC	RC
Request Rec'd.	100-439190			
Date Fwd.		10-6-69		
How Fwd.				
By				

JUN 27 1969

RECD 6/27/69

CI 100-14158

(Copies Cont'd from Cover Page A)

3 - Cincinnati (2 - 100-14158)  
(1 - 157-1682)

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.



Data re individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states, was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

~~X~~ Additionally, instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interest of the United States.

For the information of the Bureau, the interviews set forth on FD-302 in instant report relative to Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON and TAYLOR HUGHES were conducted relative to the extortion aspects of the "Black Manifesto" in accordance with Bureau instructions, Cincinnati file 9-2339.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source:

Location:

[REDACTED]

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]

Office:

CINCINNATI

Date: 6/27/69

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158

Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
 (SNCC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING  
 COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, membership, headquarters, meetings and funds set forth as furnished by confidential source who also supplied activities information concerning JAMES FORMAN while in Cincinnati, and with another source, described National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan. Interviews of Cincinnati SNCC members set forth with local organizational contacts with Black Nationalist out of state leaders and meetings data.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the appendix of this report.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic downgrading  
 and declassification

On June 13, 1969, [redacted] advised the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC was as follows and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Adviser:	LEROY COSTON 5689 Garden Hill Lane No. 242-6851
Program Director:	GEORGE HUGHES 319 Glenwood No. 221-3768
Military Adviser:	TED HARRIS Covington, Kentucky No. 431-5111
Security Officer:	MC KINLEY PACE 862 Clark St., Apt. C (No telephone)
Secretary:	SANDRA CARR 2225 Highland Avenue No. 381-3124
Treasurer & Fund Raising:	Vacant

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, [redacted] stated she was in the process of moving her residence to Columbus, Ohio, and will, as a result, be removed in the near future from the Cincinnati SNCC membership rolls.

Source also advised that Cincinnati SNCC no longer has a Cincinnati Field Representative, a position formerly held by WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, now located in New York City in the position of Temporary Office Manager of the New York SNCC Headquarters and additionally, the present total membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members.

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On June 13, 1969, [redacted] stated the Headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

This source stated Cincinnati SNCC holds weekly Sunday meetings at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA

[REDACTED]

On June 13, 1969, and June 23, 1969, [REDACTED] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area to date, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP Chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati.

Further information concerning the BPP is located in the appendix of this report.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED] advised on May 1, 1969, that the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) was held in Detroit, Michigan, from April 25 - 27, 1969. This conference was attended by persons from all over the United States.

MILTON HENRY, head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was the first speaker at the conference on April 26, 1969. He had seven personal bodyguards with him but they did not have any visible firearms. HENRY's main topic was that the RNA was demanding five southern states in the United States to be established as a Black country. He stated the RNA believes the Blacks are entitled to this land as they have worked for the whites and have developed the land. He stated the RNA would attempt to get these five states politically, but if this fails, they will take it with force of arms. He noted that the whites killed to get this land and now the Blacks can kill the whites to get it.

A characterization of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is contained in the appendix of this report.

Detroit, Michigan SNCC leader DAN ALDRIDGE, was the second speaker and he also spoke in favor of the RNA plan as set forth by MILTON HENRY. He stated the RNA will have its own army to defend their country composed of the five southern states they intend to get. He indicated the land will be used as cooperative farms rather than as personally owned farms under the Capitalist system.

After ALDRIDGE's speech, MILTON HENRY and ALDRIDGE held a caucus on the military aspects of the RNA. The caucus concluded that the RNA desired to develop a group of Blacks in each area of the country and train them in self defense and how to use all types of weapons. They are to be trained to the point where they would be willing to fight and die for the RNA. It was concluded at the caucus that the RNA might have to fight to get this land. The persons who attended the caucus were instructed to contact the local heads of the RNA Consulates for additional information and instructions.

At the same time the RNA was having its caucus, SNCC was having a caucus with National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN leading it. It was announced that a Black Manifesto had been prepared by SNCC and the caucus was to plan the strategy to get it passed in the General Assembly.

JULIAN BOND was the third speaker of the day and he spoke on what the South was doing in trying to get land for the Blacks. He stated all of their efforts were non-violent. He talked about his problems in getting elected to the State Legislature and the problems he had in getting seated. The tenor of his speech was to gain more rights for the Blacks under the law.

JAMES FORMAN started speaking at 6:30 p.m. and he pushed for the adoption of the Black Manifesto, which, in essence, demanded the sum of 500 million dollars from white religious institutions as reparations for the Black people for the wrongs to them committed by the white people.

The RNA group opposed the adoption of the Black Manifesto and fought SNCC all through the meeting. The SNCC led forces had the most support and the Manifesto was adopted by the General Assembly at this time.

The conference schedule was not followed as a big fight over the Black Manifesto broke out. The people split into general caucuses in the auditorium to discuss whether the Manifesto should be adopted or not. The RNA led the fight against the adoption of the Manifesto.

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Most of FORMAN's SNCC members were not at the conference on April 27, 1969. They apparently thought the adoption of the Manifesto had been completed so they had remained in their motel. FORMAN called them all back to the conference.

The General Assembly was called back at 1:00 p.m. and the Midwest District offered a proposal to delete the sections of the Manifesto about forcibly entering the churches and seizing property.

FORMAN's SNCC group defeated this motion.

The Southern and Western Districts also opposed the Manifesto but FORMAN's group defeated all the opposition. The Southern District noted that the provisions of the Manifesto had already been violated as the group had not forced their way into any churches on April 27, 1969.

The fight over the Manifesto raged on. A motion was made from the floor to adjourn the meeting when FORMAN jumped up to the stage and was heard to say that the Manifesto could not be changed as it was already approved. The rest of the conference was one big argument and the conference broke without any further action being taken.



This same source advised that UBCO is an "umbrella" organization which covers the activities of all Black organizations in Cincinnati. Its purpose is to promote operational unity between Afro-American organizations and to eliminate all forms of oppression and racism from the community.

CONCERNING THE NBEDC

[REDACTED] on April 29, 1969 and April 30, 1969, supplied substantially the same information as [REDACTED] above, and additionally furnished the following general data.

[redacted] stated he had learned several of the persons who attended the conference from Cincinnati, Ohio, area were Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES and his brother, SNCC member TAYLOR HUGHES, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, MARVIN GENTRY, Director of Orientation of the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) (Poverty Program) and another CEP employee, KEITH EDMONDSON, all of whom drove to the conference in the 1967 black Oldsmobile of GEORGE HUGHES, with the exception of PACE, who drove his own 1966 Chevrolet sedan.

The source stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, traveled to and returned from the conference by plane, accompanied by HIRAM CRAWFORD, also a Director of CEP in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, and additionally the source stated BOB GENTRY and WILLIAM "BABE" WEST, representatives of UBCO, above, were present at the conference, but their manner of travel is unknown.

[redacted] stated the conference generally adhered to the agenda for same; that there were approximately 700 persons present on April 26, 1969, but because of the dissension and friction created between the leaders of the RNA and SNCC, above, the conference attendance on April 27, 1969, dropped to about 250, and the conference concluded about 2:30 PM on that date.

[redacted] also stated that some criticism was directed at National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, for not making certain that representatives from all of the Black Nationalist organizations in the United States had been contacted and invited to the conference, such as the Black Panther Party (BPP) and source opined there were no BPP speakers at the conference.

The source stated National SNCC leader PHIL HUTCHINGS did indicate there were several BPP members from Detroit, Michigan, in attendance, but they were not referred to by name.

On May 1, 1969, [redacted] further stated that a second conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, from approximately 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., in McGregor Hall at Wayne State University, which was attended by approximately 75 persons and conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN, and three others, unknown from Detroit, Michigan, relative to the Black Revolutionary Labor Union Movement, and in a panel-type manner.

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[redacted] stated the purpose of the meeting was of a general or informational type to advise those present of the preliminary efforts already being made to establish Black labor unions throughout the United States.

The source stated FORMAN indicated literature would be sent out, and contacts will be made in all of the major cities relative to this program, and additionally, organizers who are receiving instructions or training, place and identities unknown, will, in the near future travel to the various cities and establish contact for implementation of the program.

FORMAN indicated that no specific activity was to be initiated at this time by those in attendance at the conference, but they should await further instructions and/or direct contact from one of the organizers or leaders of the program.

FORMAN stated it is the intention to commence the union activity in all of the major industries in every community, and indicated that two, one-day "wildcat strikes" had already successfully been staged recently by Negro employees at the Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit, Michigan.

The source stated he had also learned that the names of Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES and Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, were submitted as the persons for future contact in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area relative to the "black union" program.

On May 1, 1969, [redacted] additionally stated he had learned a third conference was held on Sunday, April 27, 1969, in the nature of a SNCC Staff meeting, from about 7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., which was attended by approximately 30 persons in room 404 of the hotel, name unknown, but located across the street from Wayne State University Auditorium, which was again conducted primarily by National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN.

The source stated some of those in attendance were unknown, but among those present from the National SNCC New York Office were PHIL HUTCHINGS, IRVING DAVIS, FRED MEELY, JIMMY LYTLE, FRANCIS BEAL, and WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, who was then the Cincinnati SNCC Field Representative.

Also present were SNCC leaders DAN ALDRIDGE from Detroit, Michigan; "Brother" CROOK, TONY ORANGE, and SANDRA SCOTT from Los Angeles and "Brother" SCHOOGE from New Orleans, Louisiana.

The source stated FORMAN indicated the general purpose of the meeting was to encourage the local SNCC organizations to implement and pursue the promulgation of the "Black Manifesto" at every opportunity.

FORMAN instructed everyone present to initiate and maintain frequent contact with the National SNCC Headquarters in New York City, and stated that the strength of the SNCC organization was again on the increase.

FORMAN added that the following SNCC leaders who had voluntarily left the SNCC organization because of policy conflicts, or who had been expelled had returned and were presently working for SNCC in New York City:

COURTLAND COX,

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

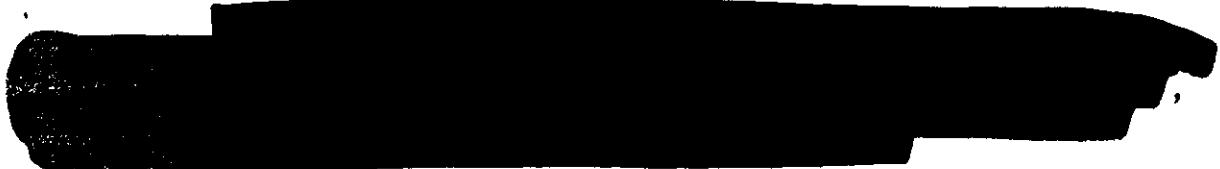
CHARLIE COBBS,

IVANHOE DONALDSON, and further that

WILLIE RICKS,

CLEVELAND SELLERS and

RALPH FEATHERSTONE were again working for SNCC, but in other parts of the United States, not specifically indicated.


[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On June 12, 1969, [REDACTED] stated JAMES FORMAN arrived at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 10:15 a.m., June 11, 1969, where he was met by local militants, MARVIN GENTRY, spokesman for the local Black Manifesto group, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director, GEORGE HUGHES, and a "Security Guard" of four persons led by a local Republic of New Africa (RNA) member, KENNETH ROBINSON.

[REDACTED] stated the above individuals went directly to the Rockdale Temple, above, center of Black Nationalist activities, in the Cincinnati area, where Forman held a press conference at 11:00 AM.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," issue of June 12, 1969, page 62, carried an article titled, "Forman Reveals Hike In Demands On Church," which stated as follows:

"Most white church groups have agreed that they should give financial help to poor blacks for reparation payments, but none has agreed to give it to the National Black Economic Development Conference, James Forman, director, said here Wednesday.

"The legitimacy of the program demands is no longer in question, it's a question of how to respond,' Forman said.

"Forman headed the conference which drafted the Black Manifesto about a month ago demanding \$500 million from white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. He said the demands have now been raised to \$3 billion.

"The new demands include larger contributions to black schools and churches that are affiliated with white groups. He said they are demanding \$700 million from the American Baptist Association and \$800 million from the Methodist Church.

"Throughout the country most Christians have accepted the new thrust generated by the program demands of the manifesto, but they have not produced funds or services to demonstrate that they are willing to fight their racism," Forman said.

"The churches must begin from this day forward to negotiate directly with the NBEDC." Any attempt to make funds available in response to the demands through any other group is a violation of the demands, he said.

"Forman said the church no longer is just a religious body, but a major financial institution.

"The Church makes large investments and these investments make money at the expense of the labors of black people. Even white church members realize that they have been tricked by the churches.

"The church has to be dealt with as a financial institution because that's where it derives a great deal of its revenue," he said.

"He said any attempts by white church leaders to destroy the work of NBEDC by accusing its members of extortion and conspiracy will force the group to escalate its attack on the church.

"He declined to comment on what tactics will be used to force the churches to respond to the demands, but mentioned striking against church headquarters as one method.

"Forman spoke at the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Aves., Avondale, Wednesday night. He said he planned to confer with local members of NBEDC about future strategy."

The source stated that from about 1:00 to 3:30 PM, Forman discussed the Black Manifesto at the Rockdale Temple with about 50 persons in an informal manner relative to the history and necessity for the Black Manifesto.

The source stated Forman thereafter joined a group of about 12 persons, including Marvin Gentry, at the Smorgasborg Restaurant, Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, and then returned to the Rockdale Temple for a scheduled dinner from about 5:00 to 7:00 PM attended by about 120 persons, the majority of which were Negro civic, business, professional and religious leaders. Forman at that time referred to the need to establish a black "skills bank," which Forman described as one professional or technician such as a photographer, merely teaching several of his or her friends in his or her particular skill without the schedules or expenses associated with training institutions, and Forman indicated he desired such a program to be instituted on a nationwide basis by the black man.

The source stated that from about 8:45 to 10:45 PM, Forman spoke to an audience of about 500 persons at the Rockdale Temple concerning the basic ideas of the Black Manifesto to the effect that religious institutions today are corrupt and basically money making organizations on whom the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto were logically and reasonably made.

[REDACTED] stated a short informal period subsequently took place with about 20 persons, in the form of questions and answers and the signing of autographs, until about 1:30 AM at which time Forman went to the residence of Marvin Gentry, 849 East Mitchell Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Forman subsequently returned to the Rockdale Temple from about 8:00 PM to 1:30 AM where he held a meeting or class with about 22 local militants, the majority of whom had had some experience in contacting churches in the Cincinnati area for the purposes of reading or presenting the Black Manifesto to the congregations.

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, also learned that included among the above group was Mel Jackson, the spokesman or leader of the Black Manifesto group in the Dayton, Ohio area, and John Taylor, an RNA leader also from that area.

[redacted] stated Forman advised the group that he was instituting a policy change with regard to the Black Manifesto, and was acting upon a suggestion offered by John Taylor, above, to the effect that they will no longer physically disrupt religious services since the congregations actually have little to do with the operation or finances of the church, and will instead attempt to influence the leaders of the various church groups through meetings and conferences.

This source also stated Forman indicated the RNA had expressed considerable opposition to the entire concept and operation of the Black Manifesto, and that Forman stated he desired to make some sort of peaceful settlement with the RNA.

[redacted] additionally stated that Forman indicated peaceful sit-ins at the various religious headquarters may also be utilized to implement the new approach, and further that it was Forman's intentions to have several of the church headquarters issue statements against the U. S. Government and FBI conducting an investigation concerning the Black Manifesto from the standpoint of extortion.

[redacted] also told those present that they were under no obligation to discuss any of their activities at any time if approached for interview by the FBI.

[redacted] further advised he learned James Forman was to depart from Cincinnati at 11:20 AM, June 13, 1969, via American Airlines Flight 240, to arrive in New York City at 12:50 PM.

CI 100-14158

INTERVIEWS OF CINCINNATI SNCC MEMBERSHIP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

6/16/69

LEROY COSTEN, 2700 Gilbert Avenue, was interviewed with the following results:

After being advised as to the identity of the interviewing Agents, COSTEN stated that he did not want to discuss any matter with the FBI and ordered the interviewing Agents to leave the premises.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio

File # CI 100-14158

by SAS [REDACTED] and  
/DCW/bha

Date dictated 6/11/69

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date June 20, 1969

1

On June 10, 1969, an attempt was made by SAs of the FBI, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to locate TAYLOR HUGHES for interview at 3468 Millvale Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, without success; however, on June 11, 1969, TAYLOR HUGHES telephonically contacted the Cincinnati Office of the FBI, and advised SA [REDACTED] he would say nothing to the FBI concerning his activities and would not be interviewed.

On 6/11/69 at Cincinnati, Ohio File # CI 100-14158

by SA [REDACTED]

jms Date dictated 6/16/69

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

A P P E N D I X

CI 100-14158

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful, it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by MILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law, from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Imari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name MALCOLM X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power, and since his assassination February 21, 1965, at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts

for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be \$10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposition on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, all executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials to an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SHARAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he edited a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader." WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader."

Characterizations of the NOI, MMI, and OAAU are attached hereto.

A P P E N D I X

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NATION OF ISLAM

A source advised on May 3, 1968, that the Nation of Islam (NOI) is an all-Negro organization originating in Detroit, Michigan, in the early 1930's. Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the NOI and self-styled "Messenger of Allah" in that he claims Allah (God) selected him to lead the so-called Negro out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation within the United States. Headquarters of the NOI is located at Muhammad's Temple (or Mosque) Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Muhammad teaches there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "devils" in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negro, will be destroyed by him in an approaching "War of Armageddon," a war between God and the devil.

Officers and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to comply with provisions of the Selective Service Act, stating that they respect laws of the United States as long as they do not conflict with the laws of the NOI, but do not believe the government should force them to participate in wars from which they have nothing to gain.

In the late 1950's, Muhammad, acting on legal advice, tempered NOI teachings against the white man and the government to avoid possible prosecution; however, basic tenets remain the same. He de-emphasized religious teachings in the NOI and emphasized economic benefits derived by so-called Negroes who join the NOI. Muhammad believed this would create more interest in his programs and, of course, new followers.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED. (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

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where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX1ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC., (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

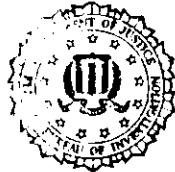
Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio

June 27, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-14158

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference Report of SA [redacted]  
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>CINCINNATI</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>ATLANTA</b>	DATE <b>10/9/69</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>6/3/69 - 9/30/69</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	CHARACTER OF CASE <b>[REDACTED] RM - SNCC</b>	TYPED BY <b>dms</b>

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED]

dated 6/27/69, at [REDACTED]

Cincinnati.

CC to WFO for info re  
 Black Ex. Group recruiting  
 "Black Economic Party  
 New England"

See pages 15-18 re  
 activities of Garrett.  
 Memphis

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED <b>None</b>					ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO 21 PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <b>CC - 801</b>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
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- 1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (RM)

**100-439190-10-87 REC-81**  
**100-439190-10-82 REC 55**  
**OCT 13 1969 EX-106 EX-106**

(Copies cont'd COVER PAGE B)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
Agency	AGENCY:	CRM	7R3 (att. back d/b/a)	
Request Recd.	RAO ATT:	ISD, RAO ATT:	IDIU	
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW:	10/31/69		
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:	ECIS		
By	BY:	min/ak		

RACIAL HUMAN RIGHTS  
 SECTION

70 NOV 17 1969

389

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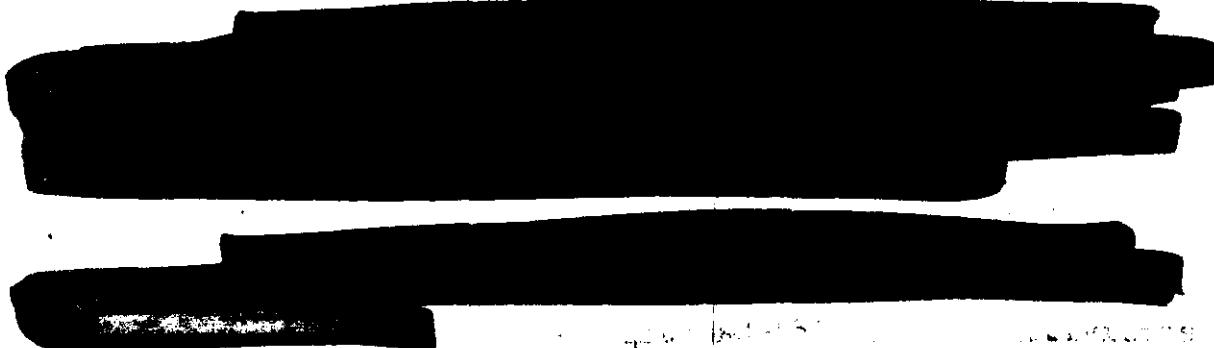
1 - Louisville (Info) (RM)  
1 - New York (Info) (RM)  
4 - Cincinnati (3 - 100-14158)  
(1 - 157-1682-BNM)

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.



Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identity of [REDACTED] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

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INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity of source</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville and New York for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity and believed known to the respective offices.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1-Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2-Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

- C\* -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- Copy to:**
- 1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
  - 1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
  - 1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
  - 1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

**Report of:** SA [REDACTED] **Office:** CINCINNATI  
**Date:** October 9, 1969

**Field Office File #:** CI 100-14158 **Bureau File #:** 100-439190-10

**Title:** STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
 (SNCC)

**Character:** RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

**Synopsis:** Current data re Cincinnati SNCC leadership, headquarters, meetings, funds, and including arrest and acquittal of SNCC member, GARRELL WINSTEAD, for bank robbery set forth [REDACTED]. Further information to be noted regarding participation in out of state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, currently named the Student National Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and declassification.

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On September 17 and 22, 1969, [REDACTED] furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Adviser:

~~LEROY COSTON~~  
5689 Garden Hill Lane  
No. 242-6851

Program Director:

~~GEORGE HUGHES~~  
319 Glenwood  
No. 221-3768

Military Adviser:

~~TED HARRIS~~  
Covington, Kentucky  
No. 431-5111

Security Officer:

~~MC KINLEY PACE~~  
862 Clark Street,  
Apartment #C  
(No telephone)

Secretary:

~~SANDRA CARR~~  
2225 Highland Avenue  
No. 381-3124

Treasurer and Fund Raising: Vacant

Concerning SANDRA CARR, above, [REDACTED] stated that CARR, who recently was making preparations to move her residence to Columbus, Ohio, cancelled her plans because of some complications with regard to living facilities and presently intends to remain at her residence above.

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On September 22, 1969, [REDACTED] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio, telephone number 861-1988.

[REDACTED] stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 p.m., unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, and participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "Black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC leader, JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL SIGNIFICANT DATA [REDACTED]

On September 16 and 22, 1969, [REDACTED] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Adviser, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

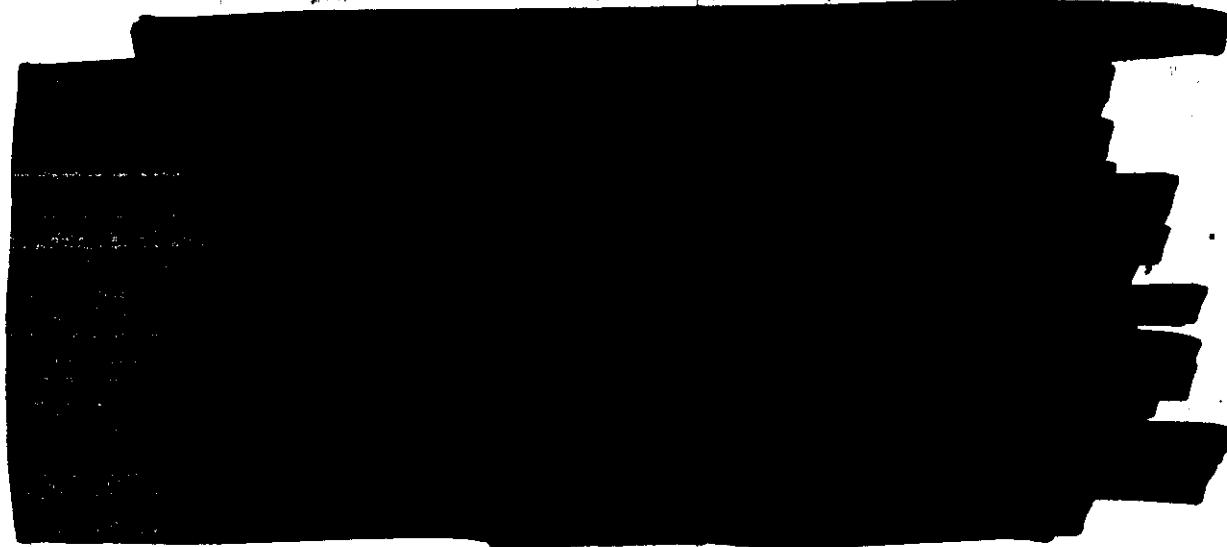
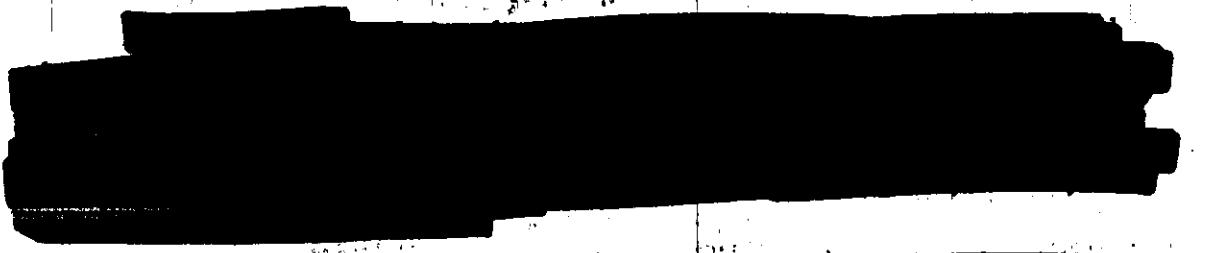
Further information concerning the BPP is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on August 30, 1969, Cincinnati SNCC member, GARRELL THOMAS WINSTEAD, was arrested

by SAs of the FBI for robbery of the Linn Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, Branch of the Provident Bank of \$2,087.00 on March 22, 1968, when disguised as a woman in wig, blouse, stretch pants, and lipstick.

WINSTEAD was arrested at his place of employment, General Electric Company, Blue Ash, Ohio, trial was commenced September 15, 1969, however, on September 25, 1969, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES



MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] stated that the SNCC staff meeting [REDACTED] actually commenced about 11:00 AM, June 16, 1969, at the Washington Square Church, 133 West Fourth Street, New York City with about 42 SNCC leaders present including the above persons and the following additional individuals:

~~Brother Crook and Sandra Scott~~ - Los Angeles

~~Dan Aldridge~~

- Accompanied by three others, unknown, Detroit, Michigan

~~Muhammed Kenyatta and 2 others, unknown~~

- Brooklyn, New York

~~Sam Petty~~

- formerly leader of the Black Liberators in St Louis, Missouri; now traveling with the National SNCC Leader James Forman in the capacity of bodyguard

[REDACTED] stated the staff meeting was instituted by Phil Hutchings who spoke generally on those individuals present who would be eligible to vote on the matters subsequently to be decided, which was followed by area reports which consisted of nothing but generalized information which strongly indicated none of the areas had accomplished or were involved in anything of significance.

[REDACTED] stated a financial report thereafter followed which was handled by New York leaders Irving Davis and Jimmy Lytle who stated that National SNCC was in effect bankrupt and \$10,000 in debt. They stated additionally that money that was to have been obtained from the sale of James Forman's book, "Sammy Young, Jr.", was to have been included

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in the National SNCC Treasury but only two SNCC chapters, one of which was Cincinnati which sent \$52.00, and the other chapter unknown, with the result the \$3,000 which was to have collected for the book was not received by National SNCC increasing the total debt to approximately \$13,000. The source stated the group from Texas, about 11, led by Ernest McMillan, who did not appear to be in accord with the dissatisfaction of the Texas group expressed their opinion that National SNCC should provide a salary or pay expenses to active groups such as those in Texas, but they received the response that even in the National SNCC office, the leaders were required to meet their own expenses and it did not seem that the suggestion by the Texas group was at all possible to adopt. The source stated that Irving Davis thereafter talked for about 30 minutes concerning SNCC International Affairs and indicated that he had tentative plans for about 15 foreign trips for the present summer to be made by "persons to be selected from different areas throughout the United States. Davis did not specify the particular countries with the exception of Algeria but did indicate the trips were tentative and for purpose of observing activities in the various revolutionary countries.

Davis further stated that Muhammed Kenyatta, above, of Brooklyn, New York, had just returned from a trip to Cuba but Davis did not refer to the dates, purposes, or results of the travel.

[REDACTED] stated that about 1:00 PM on June 16, 1969 most of the group present were surprised by the above Texas group of 11 plus four including William Herman Payne, H. Rap Brown, "Duke", and another individual believed from the Selma, Alabama area called "Theopolis", described as age 23, 5 feet 7, 175 pounds, dark complexion, small Afro haircut with goatee, all of whom stated that as of that time they were, by force if necessary, taking over control of SNCC and intended to change the name to the "Black Revolutionary Action Party" to be led by H. Rap Brown as acting chairman.

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[redacted] advised the group stated they were doing so because SNCC has not been doing anything of significance and had had no major program since 1966. Source stated James Forman appeared at the meeting at approximately 4:30 PM at which time he learned of the stated plans of the new group and openly stated that because of same he would resign from SNCC. Source stated it appeared Forman was completely surprised by the event and the actions of the Texas group who additionally stated they desired to return the National Headquarters from New York City to Atlanta, Georgia. The Texas group also expressed dissatisfaction with everything concerning the Black Manifesto and indicated that the SNCC central committee had not even been consulted prior to Forman's launching the Black Manifesto, in Detroit, Michigan during April, 1969 and further that the Texas group had only learned of the Black Manifesto through the subsequent newspaper publicity relative to same.

[redacted] stated that on Tuesday, June 17, 1969, the meeting commenced about 10:30 AM and there were some efforts made to create a program for the new organization including an organizer's school to be instituted in Atlanta, Georgia for the generalized purpose of "organizing people around their needs: but to include stronger revolutionary ideas without further details.

[redacted] stated a temporary central committee was established with H. Rap Brown as chairman and the meeting was thereafter adjourned, which when re-convened, disbanded the newly appointed central committee because H. Rap Brown stated he was disgusted with everything that had happened and was leaving the meeting.

[redacted] stated a motion was thereafter made and adopted that SNCC would continue to operate for another month with a SNCC staff meeting tentatively to be held in Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969 at which time a definite decision would be made whether to abolish SNCC as an organization or to re-organize totally as the above new organization, Black Revolutionary Action Party.

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[REDACTED] stated the SNCC staff meeting was concluded about 6:00 PM, Tuesday, June 17, 1969. The source stated at about noon on June 18, 1969 most of the group who had been in attendance at the annual meeting returned to 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, but nothing of significance thereafter occurred on that day.

[REDACTED] stated that on Thursday, June 19, 1969, about 9:00 AM, about seven persons led by New York SNCC leader Fred Meely temporarily took control of a group of church offices believed to be Methodist, at 287 Park Avenue, New York City, which was supposedly run by a religious leader or leaders who had expressed public opposition to the ideas of the Black Manifesto. The source stated he had learned there was no violence or trouble associated with the incident, that the SNCC group themselves left the Methodist offices about 3:00 PM, and those who had originally occupied the space regained control of same.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On August 26 and 27, 1969, [REDACTED] advised he had learned that LEROY COSTON and GEORGE HUGHES did depart Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 20, 1969, and went to Paschal's Hotel for the conference, but during their stay in Atlanta resided at the residence of A. B. SPELLMAN, above, 942 Fair Street. The source stated the conference for which COSTON and HUGHES had been summoned to Atlanta was held at Paschal's Hotel in Room 417, and lasted from 8:00 p.m., August 20, 1969, until about 4:00 p.m., August 23, 1969. The source stated the conference was attended by approximately 25 persons and was conducted by one JIMMY GARRETT, from Washington, D.C., who was described as having recently returned

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from the African country of Ghana; a loyal follower of the former national SNCC leader, Stokely Carmichael, who is also presently in the country of Ghana.

[REDACTED] stated many of the persons present at the meeting or conference were unknown and left and reappeared several times, but it is believed those who were unknown were attendees at the Afro American Educators Conference, also then in progress at Paschal's Hotel. The source stated that the following persons, all of whom were present and/or former SNCC leaders and supporters of Stokely Carmichael, were in attendance at the meeting:

Cleveland Sellers

Willie Ricks

Stanley Wise

Ralph Featherstone

Howard Fuller

Robert Brown

Ivanhoe Donaldson

William Herman Payne

Bob Smith

Donald Stone

Leroy Coston

George Hughes.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] stated some of the above individuals, as followers of Stokely Carmichael, additionally associated themselves with the BPP as did Carmichael, such as Robert Brown, above, a Chicago leader of the BPP, but they may not now be associated with that organization.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that several of the group in attendance at the meeting had sometime previously originated and succeeded in the idea of the creation of a Malcolm X University, which it was learned was to be opened for business on October 20, 1969, at Durham, North Carolina, but the details concerning the establishment of same were not provided or learned. It was indicated, however, that an underlying purpose of the above school was to develop a cadre of young militants and be a training school for revolutionary purposes.

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Further information concerning Malcolm X is located in the characterizations of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc. (OAAU) and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), which are contained in the Appendix hereto.

[REDACTED] learned that the above group had given no indications of meeting again in the future, and the group itself was given no name as an organization, but it was suggested that Cleveland Sellers may recontact various persons who were present and in attendance, unnamed, in the future, but the purpose of such a contact was not indicated. The source also stated that both Coston and Hughes felt that the idea for the above meeting or conference must have originated with Stokely Carmichael, but that the objectives appeared somewhat ridiculous since there appeared to be little planning, coordination, or details actually provided to those who it appeared had been summoned to carry them out.

It should be further noted that on September 29 and 30, 1969, [REDACTED] stated that Cincinnati SNCC, in contact with IRVING DAVIS, above, in New York City on September 26, 1969, learned that in addition to the Cincinnati leaders, almost all of the SNCC leaders around the country had contacted National SNCC in New York City to advise they would not attend the meetings in New York City on September 25 and 26, 1969, and would hold their travel in abeyance until the National SNCC Staff Meeting, to be held about October 4, 1969, also in New York City.

GENERAL SNCC ACTIVITIES - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On June 3, 1969 [REDACTED] stated LEROY COSTON's father, who lives in the Madisonville area of Cincinnati, has terminal cancer with about six to 12 months or less life expectancy, and COSTON has been spending considerable time with his father for that reason and additionally, because COSTON and his wife are having considerable domestic difficulties.

[REDACTED]

On June 13, 1969, and July 25, 1969 [REDACTED] stated LEROY COSTON had done nothing in furtherance of organizing or establishing a BPP Chapter in the City of Cincinnati.

On June 25 and 30, 1969 [REDACTED] stated SNCC officers, MC KINLEY PACE and GEORGE HUGHES, were on the Steering Committee of the local "Black Manifesto" group.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A P P E N D I X

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Gerold Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

## A P P E N D I X

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

1

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs," who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

1

## ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant organization known as the Organization of African Unity, generally held by the MMI in the 2nd Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement read by Malcolm X at this meeting "all" people of African descent well as "our" brothers and sisters is patterned after the "letter of African Unity established (in Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963,

A recording of the remarks indicate that the aim of the OAAU is between Negroes so they can work together while the initial objective is civil rights movement by taking condemned the nonviolent civil Negroes should be taught to pro necessary. The OAAU will sponsor education, politics, culture, etc.

Malcolm X was assassinated addressing an OAAU rally at the

On April 13, 1965, a copy of the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation of State, State of New York, the organization's true name being Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, the president and head of the OAAU was the late Malcolm X who was killed in New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 130 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

## ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAAU)

The founder and leader of the OAAU announced the formation of a new action group to be known as the Organization of African Unity (OAAU), with the office at 130 West 139th Street, Broadway and 166th

statement of basic OAAU aims indicates that it shall include all the Western Hemisphere, as well as the African continent. It shall consist of the "People's Comittee" of the Organization of African Unity (the People's Comittee of the United States) and Addis

Ababa, Ethiopia. Malcolm X at this meeting indicated that the OAAU would work to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," "Internationalize" the American Revolution, and claims that the OAAU will support, when and if necessary, the struggle for Negroes in America and social reform.

On January 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Hotel Americana Ballroom, New York City,

Malcolm X stated that on March 26, 1965, he would meet with the Department of State, State of New York, and henceforth the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

It was also reported that the OAAU has a section in the Bronx, a half-mile from the Bronx Section of New York City.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reveal that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles".

The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

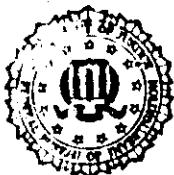
This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York,

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

2

where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-14158

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted]  
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>CINCINNATI</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>1/14/70</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>10/1/69 - 1/12/70</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>par</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>RM - SNCC</b>  [REDACTED]	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 10/9/69,  
at Cincinnati.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data regarding the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informant and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<b>NONE</b>	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
EVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

APPROVALS		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
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COPIES MADE:					
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- 1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
- 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Louisville (Info) (RM)

(Copies continued Cover Page B)

		<b>10-92</b>	<b>PC-19</b>
		2 JUN 1970	EX-117

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
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Request Rec'd.	AGENCY:	RAO ATT:	ISD, RAO ATT:	IDIU, SF-DSC
Date Fwd.		ACSI, SSI, SIR, OSA		
How Fwd:	DATE FORWD:	1/26/70		JAS - a/c : Paul. W. Hart
How Fwd:	INFO FORWD:	1/27/70		
	18 MAR 97 1970			CC-264

CI 100-14156

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1 - Memphis (Info) (RM)  
1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)  
2 - New York (RM)  
4 - Cincinnati  
(3 - 100-14158)  
(1 - 157-1682) (BNM)

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Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Data regarding individuals referred to in the details who attended conferences in other states was expeditiously supplied to pertinent divisions by airtel and LHM as same occurred.

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of [REDACTED] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

- B -  
COVER PAGE

CI 100-14158

[REDACTED]

**INFORMANTS:**

Identity of source

[REDACTED]

Location

[REDACTED]

**LEADS:**

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

**CINCINNATI**

**AT COLUMBUS, OHIO**

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

**AT DAYTON, OHIO**

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

**AT CINCINNATI, OHIO**

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**Copy to:**  
 1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati (RM)  
 1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)  
 1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)  
 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

**Report of:** SA [REDACTED] **Office:** Cincinnati  
**Date:** 1/14/70

**Field Office File #:** CI 100-14158 **Bureau File #:** 100-439190-10

**Title:** STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

**CASE NUMBER:** RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

**Synopsis:** Current data regarding Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members, headquarters, meetings, and funds set forth as furnished by [REDACTED]. Further information to be noted regarding participation in out-of-state conferences and organizational contacts with other Black Nationalist leaders and groups in New York, Tennessee, and Georgia.

- P -

**DETAILS:**

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly named the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, is contained in the appendix of this report.

**GROUP I**  
**EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC**  
**DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SI 100-14158

CURRENT LEADERSHIP - MEMBERSHIP

On January 7, 1970, [REDACTED] furnished the current leadership of Cincinnati SNCC, as follows, and all residences are Cincinnati, Ohio, unless otherwise indicated:

Educational Advisor

LEROY COSTON  
5345 Tompkins Avenue  
Building A  
Apartment 9; No telephone

Program Director

GEORGE HUGHES  
319 Glenwood Avenue  
Apartment 17  
Telephone 221-3768 (unlisted)

Military Advisor

TED HARRIS  
Covington, Kentucky  
Telephone 431-5111

Security Officer

MC KINLEY PACE  
862 Clark Street  
Apartment C  
Telephone 241-6589 (unlisted)

Secretary

SANDRA CARR  
In process of moving locally  
from 2225 Highland Avenue to  
new residence address, not  
yet definite

Treasurer and Fund Raising

[REDACTED]

HEADQUARTERS - MEETINGS - FUNDS

On January 7, 1970, [REDACTED] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC continues to be the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets.

[REDACTED] stated that service on the SNCC telephone 861-1988 was discontinued about October 15, 1969, and that all organization telephone calls are made from and to the residence telephones of the SNCC leadership.

[REDACTED] stated Cincinnati SNCC regularly held weekly meetings on Sundays at 2:00 PM, unless cancelled or rescheduled. The source stated, however, no regularly scheduled meetings have been held since about June 1, 1969, due to travel and attendance of the leadership at meetings and conferences, below, participation by SNCC in the Sunday confrontations with local religious facilities and other related activities of the "black Manifesto" concept, initially promulgated by National SNCC Leader JAMES FORMAN, at the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), Detroit, Michigan, April 25-27, 1969, which demanded reparations from religious institutions for cumulative injustices committed against the black man.

FUTURE MEMBERSHIP DATA

With reference to the present status of the Cincinnati SNCC organization as a whole, [REDACTED] stated that the leadership has indicated intentions of contacting all of the individuals personally in the near future who are considered official SNCC members as of the last general membership meeting about June 1, 1969.

[REDACTED] opined the leadership would probably encounter some problems in contacting some of the membership by reason of local residence moves, change of telephone numbers, change of employment and/or work shifts, or temporary absences from activities and the Cincinnati area, due to recent enrollment or attendance at college.

[REDACTED] stated that subsequent to personal contact w/ the members, the leadership contemplates a complete revision of the membership lists, by deletion where necessary, and thereafter sufficient recruitment to make a total of fifteen members.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On November 4, 1969, December 18, 1969, and January 12, 1970, [REDACTED] stated Cincinnati SNCC Educational Advisor, LEROY COSTON, also an official organizer of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area, has done nothing recently in furtherance of establishing a BPP chapter or organization in the City of Cincinnati and additionally, COSTON has had no contacts of any type from other areas relative to this group.

Further information concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix of this report.

It should also be noted that on July 14, 1969, [REDACTED] SNCC Security Officer, MC KINLEY PACE, above, was arrested for disorderly conduct, on the parking lot of the Rockdale Temple, above, by an officer of the Cincinnati Police Department. [REDACTED]

On January 12, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that PACE received four continuances relative to trial; however, on November 5, 1969, PACE was found guilty and fined \$5.00 for costs of court by Judge RUPERI DOAN.

MOST RECENT SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES, CONTACTS, AND ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled, "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellion when oppression became too great."

A second source advised that H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

APPENDIX

CI 100-14158

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**

1

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

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"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

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The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

A P P E N D I X1ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with the rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicate that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.

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2

where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>CINCINNATI</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>6/4/70</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>1/15/70 - 5/28/70</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA [REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>par</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>RN - SNCC</b>	

REFERENCES:

Reports of SA [REDACTED] dated 10/9/69 and  
1/14/70, at Cincinnati

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the information of the Bureau, there has been no operating SNCC organization effective as such in the Cincinnati area since about 6/1/69. For the purpose of brevity and clarity, only the summary of significant data from the LHM's submitted re the participation in SNCC National activities by individuals has been set forth in this report.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED		None		ACQUIT	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUD.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	TALS

Pending over one year  YES  NO  
 Pending prosecution over six months  YES  NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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- 1-New Orleans (Info) (RM)
- 2-New York (RM)
- 1-Savannah (Info) (RM)
- 4-Cincinnati (3-100-14158) (1-157-1682) (BNN)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	TO, REQUEST: IDL
Request Recd.	100-439190-10
Date Rwd.	100-439190-10
How Fwd.	BY

56 JUL 30 1970

10-116 REC 54

REC 27

13 JUN 8 1970

EXCL USE SECY

CI 100-14158

since it is believed more complete details should be more appropriately reported in the overall activities of National SNCC organization.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the respective subjects.

[REDACTED]

Instant report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identity of [REDACTED] who furnished data set forth therein, the disclosure of whom would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

Additionally, in the interests of brevity, since the data relative to SNCC activity in the Dayton and Columbus, Ohio areas, based on the continuing leads regarding same as indicated below, is and has remained negative for some period of time, no reference to same is made in instant report.

It should be further noted that [REDACTED] has opined that it is unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize in the near future. The source stated that any Cincinnati SNCC activities will probably be based on individual contacts from National SNCC leaders for the purpose of accomplishing specific tasks or assignments as opposed to a group or organization participation.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CI 100-14158

Due to the lack of involvement of other local militants, and the frequent and extended periods [REDACTED] furnished data, no local dissemination has been made for further reasons of security.

INFORMANTS:

Identiti of Source

Location

LEADS:

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Louisville, Knoxville, Memphis, and New Orleans for possible future investigative use due to residence and activities of individuals referred to herein, and/or by reason of the SNCC purchase of 200 acres of land in Tennessee.

No leads have been set forth for other divisions since the pertinent individuals referred to herein are in a leadership capacity, believed known to the respective offices, and significant data was previously supplied on a more expeditious basis by airtel and LHM.

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in that area.

AT DAYTON, OHIO

1. Will follow and report activities of SNCC in the Dayton area.

2. Will similarly report and follow SNCC activities in Xenia, Wilberforce, and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati SNCC.

- C\* -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: 6/4/70

Office: Cincinnati

Field Office File No.: CI 100-14158

Bureau File No.: 100-439190-10

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

Synopsis: Current data reflects Cincinnati SNCC leaders and members inactive as operating group except for members contacted individually by National leaders. [REDACTED] furnished data regarding participation by individual local SNCC members in out-of-state conferences, and SNCC activities in New York, Georgia, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. Results of interview of SNCC Secretary set forth with data re recent arrest of local Security Officer.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP I  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

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STATUS OF LOCAL SNCC ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

On May 21, and 22, 1970 [redacted] advised that Cincinnati SNCC has conducted no organizational meetings nor operated on a group basis since about June 1, 1969, due largely to an apathy created by the dissension, frequent leadership changes, and lack of coordination among the National SNCC leadership.

[redacted] stated that at the present time it appears unlikely Cincinnati SNCC will reorganize as an effective active group unless a strong leader capable of unifying and stimulating the various chapters should appear, including Cincinnati.

[redacted] stated there is still some interest in the Cincinnati area in the SNCC organization, but for the past year, Cincinnati SNCC activities have been limited to participation in National SNCC projects on an individual basis by a few of the local leaders and/or members as a result of personal contact from National SNCC leaders.

[redacted] stated the Cincinnati SNCC leadership about March, 1970, indicated an intention to call for a general membership meeting in accordance with National SNCC instructions, but subsequently postponed, and then discontinued the suggestion.

[redacted] stated the following individuals are still considered the leadership of Cincinnati SNCC; however, most are to all intents and purposes inactive or dormant except as herein-after indicated:

Educational Advisor

LEROY GOSDON  
5345 Tompkins Avenue  
Building A  
Apartment 6;  
No telephone

Program Director

GEORGE HUGHES  
319 Blenwood Avenue  
Apartment 17  
Telephone 221-3768 (unlisted)

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Military Adviser

TED HARRIS  
Covington, Kentucky  
Telephone 431-5111

Security Officer

W. KINLEY PAGE (See below)  
552 Clark Street  
Apartment 3  
Telephone 241-~~589~~ (unlisted)

Secretary

SANDRA CARR -  
See interview below

#### HEADQUARTERS - FUNDS

On May 21, 1970, [REDACTED] stated the headquarters of Cincinnati SNCC are still available in the Rockdale Temple, center of militant activities in the Cincinnati area, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, but have not been used for meeting purposes as indicated above.

[REDACTED]

#### LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW

Secretary

SANDRA LEE CARR

On February 12, 1970, SANDRA LEE CARR was interviewed at her residence, 5087 Kingsley Drive, Apartment B, Cincinnati, Ohio, at which time CARR stated, in essence, that she first became involved in racial activities in Cincinnati because she had a sincere feeling that she wanted to do something to help the situation of Negro people in Cincinnati.

She said that she joined the Cincinnati SNCC organization because she felt there was an opportunity to do something constructive for the Black people in Cincinnati. She stated that she had been secretary of the Cincinnati SNCC Organization, however, since May of 1969, she has not participated in any SNCC activities or any other racial activities. She said that the reason for

this, is that she has felt that the programs of the various local racial organizations have not fulfilled any of the needs of the community and to this date there has been no constructive programs implemented. She said that she had been contacted by GEORGE HUGHES, the SNCC Program Director, who asked her to become active again; however, she refused.

CARR stated that she is in no way a militant and does not have any animosity toward white people. She says that she accepts any individual on his face value.

CARR emphasized that she is against the use of violence as a means of getting anything for Black people. She believes that black and white people can learn to live together. She said that a great deal of progress has been made in the past few years. She feels that education is the key to the problems. Black people must concentrate on education which will result in an economic change for the Black people.

CARR said that the various black organizations should concentrate on helping the black communities to help themselves. She said voter education is also important and believes that blacks should really learn about all the candidates before casting their ballot.

CURRENT INCIDENTAL PERTINENT DATA

On March 16, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that a group of about 25 persons, all black and mostly juvenile, congregated at the corner of Rockdale and Reading Roads, Cincinnati, shortly after noon on that date. These individuals were at a statue of Abraham Lincoln and flag pole located on the corner of the intersection near Samuel Aich Junior High School. They carried signs which accused Lincoln of being the "first white capitalist to suck black peoples blood" and signs calling for power to "all black people" and "all oppressed people." One sign said, "Off Pigs" and one indicated in "memory of William Herman Payne."

During the demonstration, red paint was poured on the Lincoln statue and an American flag was torn from the flag pole in the vicinity of the statue.

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The Cincinnati Police Department responded to the scene and arrested two adults, one of whom was MC KINLEY PACE, and four juveniles. During the arrests, Sergeant JAMES DALEY, Lieutenant CARL LEIGHT, and Patrolman DAVE D'ERMINIS received minor injuries. They were subsequently treated at Cincinnati General Hospital for cuts and scratches and released to duty.

PACE was charged with Assault on a Policeman, Malicious Destruction of Property, Disorderly Conduct, and Resisting Arrest.

[REDACTED] advised that once the arrests were accomplished, no further violence occurred. He stated that MC KINLEY PACE, who started the incident, is not liked in the ghetto area and the general feeling in the ghetto is that PACE started this demonstration on his own. Bystanders took no side either for or against PACE or either for or against the officers making the arrests.

On May 25, 1970 [REDACTED] advised that PACE had received a continuance on March 17, 1970, and was scheduled for trial by jury May 26, 1970.

RECENT PAST TO PRESENT PARTICIPATION BY  
CINCINNATI SNCC IN CONFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[redacted] learned there was to be a memorial service Sunday night, March 15, 1970, at the Macedonia Baptist Church in Covington, Kentucky from 9:00 to 10:00 PM.

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[REDACTED]

Concerning the memorial service itself, [REDACTED] stated the speakers included JAMES FORMAN, TOMMY PORTER, JOHN PAYNE, and MARVIN GENTRY. the latter of whom read the larger of the two above leaflets to those in attendance, and the smaller of the above two leaflets was distributed.

[REDACTED] stated the only other additional militant to arrive for the above service was Nashville, Tennessee, militant, MICKEY BOOTH, who returned to Nashville on Tuesday, March 17, 1970.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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On April 13, 1970, [redacted] advised he had learned Cincinnati SNCC Program Director GEORGE HUGHES had traveled to New York City on April 11, 1970, to attend a National SNCC "Secretariat" Conference at the residence of SNCC "Secretariat" Chairman FRAN DEALS, Queens, New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellion when oppression became too great."

~~A second source~~ advised that H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968 and served in that capacity until June, 1968 at which time SNCC reorganized, creating two deputy chairmen in an effort to reduce pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. Rap Brown announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. Brown, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Cincinnati, Ohio  
June 4, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to  
F.T.s No.

**Title** STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

**Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC**

Reference Report of SA [redacted]  
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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